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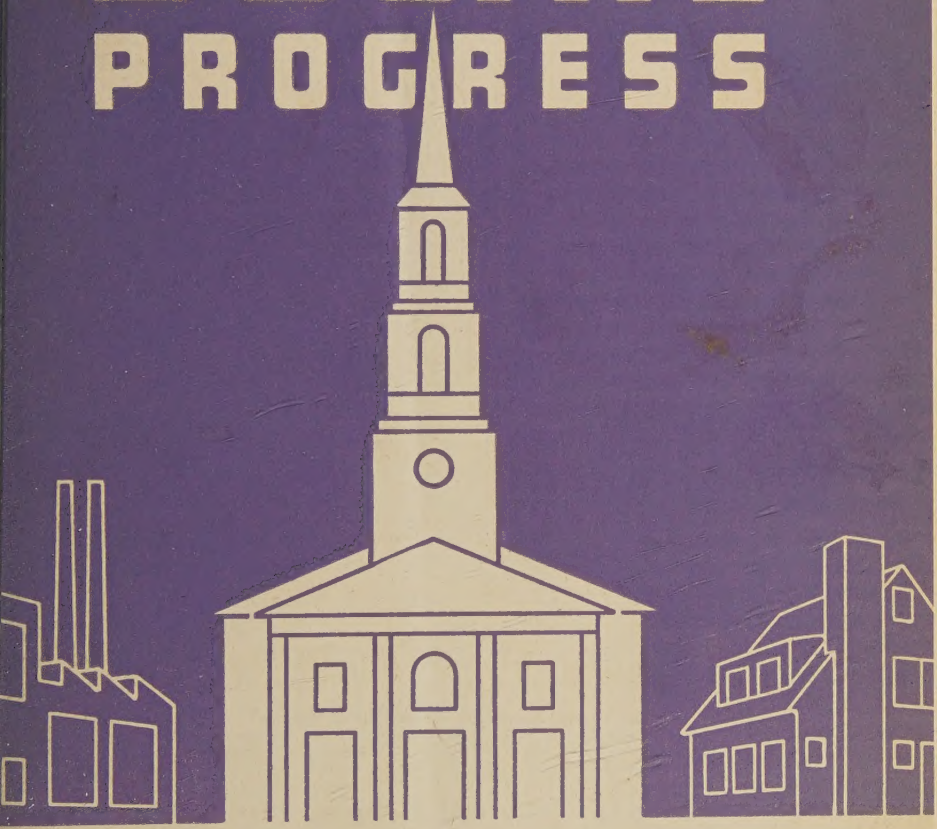

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Church as Community Leader
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CAMERON P. HALL, *Editor* *Assoc. Editor,* ELSIE G. RODGERS

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The Church as Community Leader

By Maynard L. Cassady *

SHALL the Church lead in educational, cultural, and recreational services for the community? The answer to this question, often debated, rests upon a number of factors. In the mission field, on the frontier, where the most elementary services in these fields were lacking, the Church often assumed sole responsibility. Recently, in war-impacted areas, with emergency demands for play space for children, a meeting room for a recreation committee, a leader for a nursery school, the Churches stepped in and did the job. In rural areas, lacking any community sense except that represented by the Church, full responsibility rested upon the organized church group if anything was to be done. One rural Church established a milk co-operative. The Churches in another rural community created a telephone system. And in some of our early colonies, the Church controlled the schools, the morals, and most of the "leisure" time of the public through the State.

But these are recognized as exceptional situations. Once facilities, agencies, etc., are created to do these jobs, the Church transfers responsibility from its own shoulders. Hence, in communities with public agencies and facilities present to run the schools and develop cultural and recreational programs, the leadership of the Church is not that of total responsibility, but is of a discriminating and selective character. Criteria of selection for the role of the Church range all the way from those of the Church who say these matters have nothing to do with religion, to those of people who regard the Church only as an instrument of social change.

What is the leadership role of the Church in the recreational and cultural life of those communities with established public agencies in these fields? For Churches not willing to withdraw hermitlike from these mundane matters, leadership can take at least three forms: (1) The Church can provide leaders, both lay and professionally skilled but having Christian insight and fortitude. Already the summer camping program is creating within the Church men, women, and young people with some knowledge of group work and recreational skills. Leaders of various types, trained through the Church's program or in their schools, can serve their communities or neighborhoods in the same way the Church can utilize community leaders in its program. (2) The Church can lead by creat-

* Director of Men's Work, Department of Adult Education, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, Philadelphia, Pa.

ing a public opinion favorable to those values of Christian living such as equal treatment of races and creeds, respect for personality regardless of status, loyalty to principles rather than to party, centrality of home and family life, honesty and integrity of character, and others. The pulpit, the radio, public acts and statements of Church leaders, the solid tie of loyalty to the Church by those who love, need, and serve it—these can be powerful factors in creating a favorable atmosphere for achieving high standards in these fields. The Church is one of the great public opinion forming agencies of modern American society and it is not taking full advantage of that fact. (3) The Church can lead by carrying on demonstrations and experiments in these areas. None of these fields is stable; methods, emphases, materials are continually changing. No community has its educational and recreational life so well conceived and carried out that there remains nothing to be done. In fact, the Church can do its best work by beginning where the community stops, for it can then give its attention to qualitative results, to the small group activity, or, as William James said, to the tiny rootlets that feed the great tree. Summer camps for juniors, mixed camps for those of high-school age, weekday Church Schools, interracial conferences, and even Church memberships, arts and crafts for the invalided, standards of music appreciation—the list is almost endless. Such demonstrations usually need not require extensive equipment or facilities or funds. Yet they may profoundly affect public practice.

Apart from leadership, the Church has vast resources to be made available. There are more Churches than schools, more Church members than the total membership of all organized labor, business, and farm groups combined. These 72,492,666 members control a network of buildings, facilities, and services that reach into every community of the nation. Above all, they have the rich traditions of the Church and the Gospel of Jesus Christ to inspire and guide. Of all these resources, the Church is only steward.

Now the pressing needs of many communities today—cultural, recreational and educational—are at points where leadership by the Church can play a significant part: (1) small group activities to relieve pressure from mass programs, (2) equalization of load between privileged and underprivileged groups, (3) buildings, facilities, outdoor play space, (4) leaders with a deep sense of public service, (5) public opinion favorable to extension of services to groups under discrimination, (6) demonstrations as effective proof of the practical wisdom of some general program to be adopted. These are not only illustrations of opportunities for service. They

open new doors of interest for the Church itself. One Protestant Church in a Polish neighborhood assumed that Polish people would not be interested in this Church. But when they made their recreation room available to neighborhood groups they soon discovered that the Polish people were beginning to feed into the life of the Church. One man, a carpenter, built much of the equipment for a new kindergarten room.

How can the Church exert its leadership? How shall it proceed? The local Church may have to "go it" alone, or it may fortunately work on a co-operative basis with others. In either case, the following procedures are probably required if full success is attained and good public relations are built up as a future asset.

First, know the community. Have large maps in the church study. Learn its major trunk lines providing basic services. Know the people who man these services, who govern, manage, and work in industry. Learn the key agencies and their staffs in the social welfare, recreational, and educational fields; leaders of labor organizations and business groups; staffs of public library and museum; the county agent; head of the home bureau. Find out the human needs and the available facilities in the immediate neighborhood of the Church.

Secondly, establish clear, effective, and regular liaison relations with community leaders of agencies with which the Church must work to attain its goals. Disparagement of welfare will not develop good liaison relations. Mutual respect and frank give-and-take are basic to sound relations between the Church and social agencies. Initiative should come from the Church because its work in this field is supplementary or experimental. Churches will not feel overlooked if they proceed to see to it that they are not overlooked. The mountain may have to come to Mahomet. And learn, too, the techniques and the art of referral. When a Church refers one of its clients or a volunteer or a problem to a community agency, mutual confidence and trust are created.

Thirdly, select projects or undertakings in which the Church investment of resources outweighs those from outside the Church. Churches do not lead by "sponsoring" some good thing, wise as that may be for other reasons. They must have a large stake to have responsibility. This means the Church needs to know fully its own resources, the professional, occupational skills and experiences of its members, the scope of interest of the various organizations of the Church, the prestige or public relations of the Church in the eyes of its neighborhood.

These all would seem to be essential preliminaries. The next move is TO DO IT.

United States Policy in Europe

A Digest of a Report *

Vera Micheles Dean outlines in the January issue of Foreign Policy Reports, *on the basis of her impressions gathered during a recent visit to Britain, Germany, and France, the situation in Europe and the problems that it poses for the United States. We present herewith Mrs. Dean's suggestions for an eight-point program embodying the main lines of United States policy in Europe.*

IN THE perspective of the months that have elapsed since V-E Day, it becomes both necessary and possible to evaluate the major problems faced by the United States in Europe, and to appraise the policy followed by the Truman Administration with respect to a continent on whose soil this country has found it necessary, for its own security, to intervene militarily twice in a quarter of a century.

The United States would appear to have three main objectives in Europe: (1) political stabilization of the Continent; (2) economic recovery, itself dependent on political stability, which would transform the nations of Europe from recipients of American loans and relief into nations capable not only of helping themselves, but also of becoming steady customers of the United States; and (3) application to Europe of long-term international measures of mutual aid for the prevention of war through timely adjustment of impending conflicts. By what may seem a paradox, the more this country participates today in the reconstruction of Europe, the less heavy will be the military and economic burdens it will have to undertake in order to assure the security of that Continent which, as two world wars should have amply demonstrated, is inextricably linked with our security.

An Eight-Point Program

Given the circumstances now existing on the Continent, what could be the main lines of United States policy in Europe? The following eight-point program is suggested with full appreciation of the fact that no country, and least of all a democracy where government is constantly subjected to the influence of various pressure groups, can be expected to follow a rigidly consistent, or even always coherent, foreign policy.

1. The United States should consider every practicable measure of aiding Britain to recover from the aftereffects of war. In doing this, we should bear in mind that aid to

* From "U. S. Policy in Europe," *Foreign Policy Reports*, January 15, 1946. Foreign Policy Association, Inc. Used with permission.

Britain, as well as to other countries, must not be envisaged solely in financial terms of loans and credits, but must be expanded to include adjustments by the United States in tariffs, civil aviation, merchant marine, and other fields where its competition is regarded as a threat by our wartime allies.

2. The United States should not underwrite the colonial commitments of Britain or other European countries possessing overseas colonies, but should share responsibility for whatever reforms it proposes in colonial administration, and recognize that colonies are tangible assets that it cannot ask other countries to abandon without some form of compensation. As a first step toward discussion of colonial problems, the United States should offer to place such Pacific islands as it intends to claim under the supervision of the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations Organization.

3. The United States should support the forces of social democracy in Europe, both in liberated countries, and in Germany and Italy. This is not a matter of ideology or sentiment, but of practical politics, since the moderate leftist parties are the only elements on the Continent genuinely interested in co-operation with this country. To oppose social democracy for fear that it may lead to controlled economy is to misunderstand completely the emergency conditions faced by all European Governments in the wake of war. The alternative to social democracy is a clash between the Communists and the Christian Democrats —a clash that would perpetuate turmoil in Europe and thereby threaten the security of this country.

4. The United States should propose to Britain and Russia a program of joint economic aid to the liberated countries that could create a practical foundation for institutions the Western powers regard as democratic. Without such aid it is difficult to see how democracy in the Western sense can develop or thrive on the Continent. It is essential, however, that in extending economic aid to Europe the United States should make it clear that it is not seeking to build a bulwark against Russia.

5. The United States should officially clarify its long-term plans with respect to Germany. To accomplish this, four measures are urgently needed. First, President Truman should state that the United States will participate in Allied control of Germany as long as it may prove to be necessary. Secondly, a special office for the administration of German occupation affairs should be created in Washington, to expedite decisions frequently held up in the past because of the pressure of other business, both foreign and domestic. Thirdly, a civilian administration should be established by June 1, 1946, as envisaged by Gen-

eral Eisenhower, and competent men and women familiar with Germany's problems, capable of speaking German, and prepared to accept long-term service abroad, should be recruited for this purpose without delay. The Government should be urged to provide for this specialized civil service salaries comparable to compensation for similar professional services at home. Fourthly, a definite contingent of regular Army forces should be assigned for duty in Germany, preferably on a rotation basis, and with the opportunity to bring their families, so that military supervision of the American zone need not be entrusted, upon the return, under the point system, of seasoned veterans, to newly drafted youngsters unfamiliar with the laborious and often unpleasant tasks of occupying a defeated country.

6. Only when the United States has officially demonstrated its intention to participate in control of Germany as long as it may prove necessary will it prove practicable to formulate a workable economic program for Germany. The United States is not obligated to assure any given standard of living for the Reich, but public opinion here would oppose any policy resulting in long-term undernourishment or unemployment of the Germans. The Allies are agreed on the need to remove all industries directly producing for war. What they yet have to do is to agree on the character of the economy to be left in Germany once war industries have been dismantled.

It is in the interest of the United States, as well as its wartime allies, to reduce the role of heavy industry in Germany, to seize Germany's external assets, and to reorient German economy toward intensified production of foodstuffs and consumers' goods. Such a program would require expropriation of some industries, the breakup of some large landed properties, and various forms of Allied controls—all measures that are repugnant to many Americans. The fundamental question to be asked in reaching any decision, however, is not whether we like it or not, but whether it contributes to reduction of Germany's potential military power.

7. No measure to disarm Germany or denazify the Germans will avail unless the United States, and its wartime allies, strengthen their own position by orderly reforms at home and genuine collaboration through the UNO which at this time offers the only prospect, slight though it may often seem, of averting the total destruction presaged by the discovery of the atomic bomb.

8. Only when the United States has clarified its own policy toward Europe will it be able legitimately to question the policy of Russia, and to propose constructive alternatives to the actual or assumed objectives of the Soviet Government on the Continent.

Economic Implications of Strikes

An Analysis *

Whatever the outcome of the current strikes in terms of the points at issue between management and labor, these work stoppages very definitely affect the economic pattern. The following analysis does not attempt to judge claims but rather to evaluate the situation in terms of its economic implications.

DESPITE encouraging signs, it may be overoptimistic to assume that settlement of the major strikes, on terms accepted by large companies of superior efficiency and financial strength, will set a pattern that all companies can follow and therefore re-establish industrial peace and production promptly. How far the smaller companies can follow the pattern set by the larger, whether their workers will be satisfied with what they can pay, and how much strife may develop, all remain to be seen.

A World Emergency

Allowing for the necessary qualifications, however, it is the general view that the picture is brightening, and the natural reaction is one of relief. Everyone can join in this feeling. The country has never been nearer a general strike than in January with the steel mills, packing houses, electrical manufacturing plants, and the huge General Motors factories closed, with telegraphic communication hampered, with a host of minor strikes under way, and with other stoppages threatened, even on the railroads. Nor has there ever been a time, in peace, when production was more urgently needed or strikes more costly.

The world is in the midst of a great emergency. It is in turmoil and distress, and facing want and disorder, in large part because of scarcity of goods that are needed both in everyday life and for reconstruction. In this country every dictate of humanity, statesmanship and common sense called on us to lift production to the maximum early and rapidly; all our money gifts and loans become a futile gesture unless we produce goods to be bought with the money. We also had our own interest to serve—to provide employment for returning veterans and displaced warworkers, to supply the markets and satisfy demands, to combat inflation, and to resume our historical progress in raising living standards.

Yet weeks and months have been lost. Not only has the current output of goods been reduced by strikes, but reconversion has been set back.

* From *Bulletin of The National City Bank of New York*, N. Y. February, 1946. Used with permission.

The inflation danger has been intensified both by the loss of production and by the wage and price increases. It will hardly have escaped attention that, even with an immense number of people on strike and others out of work because strikes have stopped the flow of parts and materials, retail trade and other consumer expenditures nevertheless have held at record-breaking figures. Department-store sales in the four weeks ended January 26, in dollars, were 11 per cent above a year ago.

In these sustained expenditures, in a time of increasing idleness and lessened production, is seen the working of inflation. People who are not producing are nevertheless presenting financial claims for a part of existing supplies. These claims—money or war bonds "saved" during the war, or money provided by unemployment compensation, mustering-out pay or other payments supplied in last analysis by deficit financing and credit expansion—augment those of the people who are producing and earning. But there is no commensurate addition to the supply of goods. Hence the pressure on prices. The scarcities intensify the eagerness to buy, and demand piles up.

Cost to Workers

The cost of a strike to the workers is effectively described in the January issue of the official *Monthly Survey*, published by the American Federation of Labor. It points out that if workers earning $1.00 an hour are offered an increase of 12 cents by their employer, but go on strike and stay out for eight weeks in order to obtain an increase of 18 cents, they will lose $358 in pay (eight weeks of 40 hours at $1.12); and that the 6-cent increase obtained by the strike will not repay this loss for nearly three years. If the strike obtains only 3 cents more than the employer offers, nearly six years will be required to make up for the loss.

In ordinary times these calculations might be received with the reservation that the assumed loss of pay would become a real loss only in case the loss of time proved irrecoverable and could not be made up by more days or more weeks of work later. Under present conditions, however, the pertinence of the A. F. of L.'s remarks can hardly be questioned, for there is need for everything that can be produced for an indefinite time, and the foreseeable future will hold little room to make up time that is lost now.

Moreover, the A. F. of L. publication says: "If the extra 3 cents or 6 cents breaks a price ceiling, workers may take losses they can never regain. For every family with savings or life insurance, each dollar will be reduced to 95 cents or 92 cents in buying power." This is a loss that affects everyone.

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The Harm That Prejudice Does

By Richard Rasmusson *

DO YOU remember the incident in *The Human Comedy*, by William Saroyan, where the athletic coach, Mr. Byfield, called Joe Terranova a "Wop"? He was made to apologize. The words of the person who made him apologize were great words. He said: "He is not apologizing to you, Joe, or your people. You must give him the privilege of once again trying to be an American."

Right now that kind of emphasis is very much needed. What is the real meaning of being an American? In the great American tradition of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, America is freedom, justice for everyone, human equality. And whenever prejudice in the form of anti-Semitism, Jim Crowism, calling people of another culture "Wops," "Sheenies," "Chinks," there is the denial of the true America. America is belief in freedom, human equality, justice, good will, irrespective of creed, color, or national origin.

"All tongues and races are American,
All nations are embodied in her job,
To breed the noble concept of man
whose freedom is, that others
should be free—
Yellow or black or red or white or
tan."

But prejudice is rising in our land. To help to counteract it is the purpose of this article.

I

For one thing, prejudice at the present hour plays into the hands of those who never have believed in democracy.

Is democracy only for a favored group? Is it white democracy that we want? Are we not Nazi in spirit when we defend and practice Jim Crowism, anti-Semitism?

Our prejudices are weakening us at home and at a time when we ought to be united and strong and working all-out for full employment, peace, and plenty. And if we refuse to give up these prejudices and this behavior, have we not become Fascists? And can we really destroy the Fascist spirit in the world when we are keeping it alive at home?

When the riots took place in Los Angeles, Carey McWilliams wrote in *P.M.*: "There is a deadly parallel between the pictures of naked Mexican boys lying in the streets of Los Angeles in pools of blood—with grinning mobs standing around—and the pictures one began to see a few years ago of Jews being made to clean the streets of Vienna."

* Minister-Director, University Presbyterian Church, West Lafayette, Indiana.

II

Again, prejudice keeps the whole world poorer and weaker. One of the great biographies everyone should read is Rackham Holt's *George Washington Carver.* We learned in that book that when Highland University in Kansas discovered that George Carver, who had been accepted as a student, was a Negro, he was dismissed with the words: "We don't take niggars here."

But Simpson College in Iowa did. And in 1941 its president said: "Among the cherished memories Simpson College will always possess, is the consciousness that it did not fail [Carver] when he came knocking for admission. It will always rejoice in the fact that it did not make race or color the basis for admission."

But I am thinking now what the world would have lost if George Washington Carver had been discriminated against all down the line and had given up the fight. Do you know that from the sweet potato he made 118 useful products? from the clays of Alabama, face powder and paints? from the peanut over 300 products? One of his maxims was: "Start where you are, with what you have. Make something of it and never be satisfied."

Is it possible that other George Washington Carvers will never enrich the world's life and thought, because somewhere the iron fences of segregation and prejudice forever hem them in and they give up the fight? Can we afford our segregation and prejudices? E. Stanley Jones says: "Prejudice is culturally, economically, and nationally expensive. It should be ended." When will we see the sense of this and do it?

III

Further, prejudice impoverishes the one who has it, by preventing him from receiving what those whom he shuts out have to give. Rackham Holt, in his life of Carver, tells about Carver's contribution to the South and the world, his addresses before schools and universities and science societies. But he also writes: "Professor Carver could not enter their hotels, nor sit down to table with them. They could have learned much from him, but custom erected a barrier between themselves and his knowledge."

So, prejudice impoverished and hurt most those who had it. It kept them outside a great man's mind and heart. Who are the losers in such a situation? Well, everyone, of course. But not least among those who are hurt are those who build these walls of superiority and fear around themselves, which we call prejudice.

The world I want was expressed this way by Saint Exupéry in *Flight to Arras:* "In my civilization, he who is different from me does not impoverish me—he enriches me.

Our unity is constituted in something higher than ourselves—in Man. When we in Group 2-33 argue of an evening, our arguments do not strain our fraternity, they reinforce it."

IV

Pressing on, prejudice also degrades those who have it. I think it was Booker T. Washington who once said, "To keep a Negro in the ditch, you must stay in the ditch with him." Well, that's the idea.

Roland Hayes tells how stones have been thrown through the windows of his home in Brookline. "I have been refused," he writes, "a bed in a hotel in Tucson, a chair in a Seattle lobby, a meal in a restaurant in Duluth." But, I ask, how can a people, a social order, a country continue to do such things and not be degraded themselves in the process?

In a book on ethics we read: "The wages of the sin of prejudice . . . is death, because the wilful closing of attention against what we ought to hear shuts off our own life from us and makes us stunted and withered." We participate in a slow spiritual death when we are prejudiced and do not rise up to oppose it wherever and whenever it appears. So Roy L. Smith says in one of his sentence sermons: "Prejudice is an opinion that causes spiritual shrinkage."

V

Lastly, prejudice compromises the highest and best in Christianity. One simply cannot be a consistent follower of the Nazarene and cherish prejudice. Max Mueller has written that to the Greek every foreigner was a "barbarian," to the Jew every stranger was a "Gentile dog," to the Mohammedan every alien was an "infidel." Jesus, however, changed all this and these people became, instead, "brothers." The Twentieth Century New Testament puts it in a verse in Ephesians: "He sought to create out of the Jews and the heathen one new man and so make peace between them, by uniting both in Himself."

In conclusion I want to stress, not the harm prejudice does, but the power and good released by harmony and co-operation between divergent groups. In Pennsylvania there is a textile mill. In this mill the sorting is done by an Englishman, the cording by an Italian, the spinning by a Swede, the drawing by a Scot, the scouring by a Turk, the dressing by a Pole, the supervision by an Irishman—and they are making—what would you guess—they are making American flags. Need I draw a lesson?

By the divine paradox wherever there is one slave there are two. So in the wonderful reciprocities of being we can never reach the higher levels until all our fellows ascend with us.—*Edwin Markham.*

On the State of the World

By John Foster Dulles *

WE COME together at a time when the need is great and when pessimism is rife. Many are bitterly disillusioned. In part, the illusions which have collapsed are the kind of illusions which war always produces as a stimulant and which always prove false. Thus, many had come to believe that all evil was embodied in their enemies and that once the German and Japanese were made impotent, the world would automatically be a world of sweetness and light. Some had come to believe that brotherhood in arms would automatically assure brotherhood in peace. Today they see the German and Japanese armies utterly defeated, their peoples prostrate and at our mercy, and yet there is no peace. They see that the military coalition known as the United Nations has now been permanently established as a peace organization, with the United States and the Soviet Union both members. Yet the first meetings of that organization were an occasion when its processes were used not wholly in a spirit of brotherhood, but in part to play the old game of power politics.

The end of the war, in addition to bringing about the collapse of such illusions, has left a scene which everywhere is forbidding. The colonial peoples, numbering some 750 million, are in a state of unrest. The United Nations Charter took account of their needs and went far to pledge the colonial powers to policies that would peacefully provide self-government, free institutions, and, when appropriate, independence. The first Assembly did much to vitalize those provisions. But violence is rife and the Soviet Union is giving moral, if not material, encouragement to that violence. Perhaps it does so out of sincere belief in the principles of freedom and human liberty. Perhaps it does so because violent colonial revolutions would weaken the Western democracies of Europe—Britain, France, Belgium, and Holland—which have tended to coalesce into a political bloc. Perhaps, as is often the case, the motives are mixed.

China, with its 400 million, faces economic conditions of almost unbelievable difficulty as the result of nine years of war and enemy occupation. Internal strife seems, happily, to be subsiding, but it is being replaced by a rising tide of bitterness against the secret betrayal at Yalta, and the consequent encroachments of the Soviet Union in Manchuria.

Latin America, with its 100 mil-

* Presbyterian layman. Authority on international law. An address before The Federal Council of The Churches of Christ in America, Columbus, Ohio, March 5-7, 1946.

lions of people, is paying the penalty for not having developed vigorous and healthy economies which would have advanced the spiritual, intellectual, and material welfare of the people generally. The masses are, as a result, easily led, and misled, by extremist agitators, some fascist, some communist, with resultant breaches of Pan-American solidarity. Mexico, at the London meeting of the United Nations, usually voted with the Soviet Union and against the United States, and there is, throughout South America, much concern over the extent to which we are pursuing unilateral policies toward the Argentine.

Europe, east of the Rhine, with its 200 millions of people, is in pitiable and numbing misery. To the devastation of war is now added a wholesale uprooting of populations and the presence of several million foreign troops, most of whom live off of lands already unable to sustain their own population.

Western Europe, with its 150 million people, is torn by civil and political dissension. This largely reflects the desire of those who went underground when Germany swept over Europe now to eradicate those who, particularly in France, Italy, and Spain, collaborated with Germans.

The Soviet Union, with its 200 million, faces the economic consequences of the devastation of its richest agricultural and industrial lands. The misery there is undoubtedly intense. This may be the clue to much in Soviet policy that is hard to understand. It may be that Soviet leaders maintain barriers against the outer world so that their own peoples will not know of the better conditions of working people elsewhere; and so that Soviet sympathizers abroad will not be disillusioned by seeing the realities that are Russia today.

The United States, with its 130 million, is living in what, to the rest of the world, appears to be fabulous and almost immoral prosperity. We seem to indulge in the luxury of suspending production, which the world desperately needs, because labor and capital cannot agree on how to divide the profits to come out of catering to that need. Our nation is in grave danger of being isolated spiritually, economically, and politically.

I have commented on the particular plight of peoples comprising most of the population of the world. Over all of them are also suspended common dangers.

One of the common dangers is famine. As a result of crop failures from drought and other causes, there will be widespread starvation or such undernourishment as makes the people ready prey to epidemic diseases and incapable of the physical effort needed to revive production by hard work in the fields and

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Love Your Enemies

By Robert Root *

ONE of the biggest social tasks of 1946 Europe is unquestionably that of helping Germans to find a place in continental and world society. In Christian terms, it's a task of implementing the injunction to "love our enemies." In human terms, it's a question of being friendly.

Because of the role the Churches of the Reformed, or Presbyterian, branch of Protestantism have in the nations surrounding Germany that were occupied by the Nazis, they are peculiarly challenged by this necessity of reconciliation. Nor are they blind to it, my traveling in France and Czechoslovakia has revealed.

The Czech Brethren

"I really felt sorry when the German family in the apartment upstairs had to move," said the wife of a leading pastor of the Evangelical (Presbyterian) Church of the Czech Brethren in describing the scurry of occupiers from Prague last spring. "It seemed a pity when they had to pick up what they could and rush away." Here was a sentiment of fellow human feeling, even about enemies, that I had hardly expected to encounter in Czechoslovakia. But then she went on: "Still, we remember the terrible things the Nazis did to us—we must think about what the Germans would be doing to us if they were in our shoes." Here was a more typical reaction that hints at the feelings of hate and revenge that cause these people to root up some three million German-speaking people from their old Czech homes and send them packing to the cut-up Reich. It is what humane Czechs say to themselves to ease their consciences when they think of the misery that their retaliation policy brings to these "Germans."

Yet it is significant that this woman, like her preacher husband, had a conscience on the subject. For because of it, her husband, with other Czech Church leaders, especially of his denomination, have made repeated appeals to the Government, to President Beneš himself, that the deportations be humane.

At a recent synod meeting, the first in six years, the Czech Brethren passed a resolution urging the Government to make the deportations humane. The synod also voted to include the German Lutheran Churches of their country within their own fold.

The significance of this step appears in the light of the actions of the Czech Government. It has been confiscating German property, and

* Correspondent, Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid, World Council of Churches, Geneva, Switzerland.

s strictures on German language nd institutions would make con- nuation of the German Churches mpossible for the half million per- ons of German descent who are ex- ected to prove loyalty and remain n the country. If the Government pproves the merger, these Germans ill then be permitted to continue heir traditional Church life, in some stances probably without even a hange of pastor or liturgy.

The Czech Brethren have also hared in the concern of Americans nd British about conditions in the oncentration camps for Germans eing deported. Members of the enomination have been holding re- igious services for the internees in amps throughout the little nation. Here the Germans have had a con- rete sign that not all Czechs hate hem but that some want to demon- trate the brotherhood of all men nder God.

The concern is for bodies as well s for souls. Because of the deplor- ble food and clothing conditions in Czech camps, the consciences of Czech Church people tell them they hould help here too. But there are wo obstacles: They are very short f food and clothing and their Gov- rnment forbids their helping the Germans. One Czech Brethren leader appealed to me to urge the Churches of the rest of the world to end aid to these Germans, for, said e, "We haven't enough, but they are worse off." As long as this kind of spirit lives in the Czech Christians, there is bound to be a contagion that will do more to win the Germans to the way of good will than all the revenge and spite that self-righteous victors could muster.

Christians in France

In France, as ancient an enemy of Germany as the Czechs, there is a similar effort to achieve a new brotherhood with the Germans. At the conference of the Protestant Federation of France in Nîmes, I heard the news broken that the German Church had joined the World Council of Churches. There was careful questioning about the step, but one can say without hesitation that these churchmen, most of whom came from the nation's largest Protestant Church, the Reformed, welcomed the information as a sign of hope that the Church could break down old barriers that have separated the peoples.

In the same spirit, the Congress of Social Christianity in Paris, again with strong Reformed participation, protested the cruelty of transfers of German populations and urged as "the only road to peace" that the Allies feed and shelter "these immense human crowds lost in despair."

Of the Germans within the truncated Reich, the social congress declared that "a clear distinction should be made between the moral responsibilities of the German peo-

ple as a whole . . . and the legal and exact responsibility of the criminals." Of the problem of reconciliation specifically, the congress asked that "the German people not be deprived of the possibility of being reinstated before other peoples and of resuming a normal life among them."

I talked with Marc Boegner, head of the French Reformed Church as well as the Protestant Federation, who said that he had been concerned about the frightful conditions in French camps for German POW's and civilian internees, where sometimes the daily ration is below 1,000 calories. He pictured the Church's duty as one of calling on those who are in a position to aid. For the secular resistance paper, *Figaro*, he wrote a strong article on the subject, and called the Churches' concern personally to the attention of General de Gaulle. Though the French churchman had just come from a memorial service for members of his own family lost because of resistance to Nazism, he declared that he and other French Church people felt "much good will" toward the German POW's.

M. Boegner also has gone into Germany to confer with leaders of the new Evangelical Church in Germany, and has invited the head of this Church in Germany, Bishop Theophilus Wurm, to join the meetings of the World Council.

One of the most concrete social manifestations of the interest of French Protestants in reconciliation with the Germans is the work of Cimade, the French youth organization which openly and covertly aided hundreds of Jews during the Nazi occupation and established centers of recreation and worship in the camps for civilian German internees.

I saw another phase of Cimade work in destroyed cities when I visited the Dunkerque center directed by a young American Presbyterian pastor, Ray Teeuwissen. A German POW, thin of face but less skeletal than some of the prisoners I saw at Dunkerque, was assigned to work at the Cimade center. Almost the first thing that happened was that a Cimade worker gave him some bread. Since he had hard work to do, that was perhaps not too startling; but I was more surprised when I saw them invite this young German to go with them to a "restaurant" in a damaged school auditorium for lunch. But something even more amazing was to occur. As soon as we were served, one of the Cimade leaders shared half the food on her own plate with this prisoner. I knew what she had been through in the resistance, and I wondered how many Americans, who have been through much less, could bring themselves to give thus of their own food to help a German. Our Christian counterparts in Europe have at least put their hands to the plow, and they are starting to drive in the right direction.

What Is a Good Community?

By Arthur E. Morgan *

THERE is no mystery about what makes a good community. A good community is simply one in which the people know and respect each other, have confidence in each other and like each other, and act as intelligent persons would under such circumstances. If we can decide what intelligent, well-informed people would do who know and respect and trust each other and like each other, we shall have an ideal program of a good community.

If this formula seems indefinite and subject to varied interpretation, so also will be the program of a good community. It will have no hard and fast organization. All we can be sure of is that in such a community no human need will be ignored, no possibility for a larger and better life will be neglected; there will be awareness of the normal cravings and aspirations of the members of the community, and a desire to help to their realization.

With intelligent people such relationships will find practical expression. First of all, any exceptional needs will be met. In sickness or distress there will be a helping hand —not for charity's sake, but as a natural expression of neighborly friendship.

Simple needs may be met by spontaneous, unplanned expressions of friendship, but intelligent people will realize that effective friendship is more than an emotion stirred by the presence of need. It is a continuing relationship, requiring forethought and planning and action in accord with such plans. A strong, enduring spirit of friendship and mutual confidence, finding expression both in spontaneous action from day to day and in carefully planned, long-range undertakings, will result in a good community.

Well-informed intelligence will have a sense of good proportion. It will realize that no one good quality will make a good community. Lack of such a sense of proportion has been disastrous to many communities. Many an industrialist who has built an industry and a community together has assumed that when he had insured a good income to the people he had provided the chief necessity for a good life. The Marxians have elevated this delusion to a political creed in assuming that human shortcomings arise chiefly from economic need.

No less mistaken are those who see spiritual qualities alone as sufficient. There have been many fine, Godly American communities of intelligent peoples, communities that have

* President, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

withered away, their people to be followed by cruder, less desirable types. Because there was no economic planning in the community, no ranging imagination to provide setting for human adventure, the intelligent young people moved away to larger opportunities and the spiritual quality faded.

In all phases of human interest there will be place for the spontaneous emotional expression of interest and sympathy, but there will also be need for the expression of a deeply rooted continuing purpose that finds effectiveness in deliberate planning and long-range programs. If a person is in economic distress, there will be friendly economic aid, but friendship as a deep running purpose will go much farther. It will be concerned with planning and developing economic opportunity, so that the young people of the community will have a fair and interesting economic chance at life, and so that disadvantaged or partially disabled persons can live with self-respecting self-support.

If a neighbor is sick, he will receive friendly care, but that emotional response to need is not enough. In a good community an environment for good health will be developed by a health education program, and by correction of unsanitary and unhealthy conditions. And so one might comment on the various phases of need and interest with which a community will be concerned. In addition to economic life and health there would be planning for education, for recreation, for cultural development, for religious life, for the welfare of disadvantaged persons, for housing, for working conditions, and then for public government of the community.

Some of these interests will be the concern of particular groups or organizations. However, in a good community there will be unification and integration of many interests in unified programs. Recently we visited a progressive community that was active in three different fields of development. Yet each interest was being promoted independently of the others, with the result that the total work would have less than half the value that might have been achieved at the same cost by unified action. In the lack of community co-ordination this is not a good community. Sometimes the Churches of a community, each eager to do good work through its own particular organization, tear the community to pieces in competing for support of several programs. A good community will have achieved a high degree of unity in purpose and program, sometimes by informal co-operation and understanding, sometimes by deliberately planned organization, as with a community council.

Whatever form its life and organization may take, a good community

(Continued on page 34)

Who Will Lead?

By James Hilton *

THE men in uniform are coming home, having finished the gigantic job they set themselves; but it is only part of the job that has to be done. They have left an even bigger job to the soldiers of the future. . . . Those soldiers of the future are not in uniform. They are never drafted. They carry no arms. Yet today they face a task as difficult as the Normandy landing, and one in which the penalties of failure are just as grave. They are the teachers . . . in a world that has so much to learn, and so little time for learning.

Basically, what has to be learned is simple—as simple as the formula that Einstein was able to put into a three-letter equation a quarter of a century ago. But it is just those simple things that are apt to be tremendously difficult. To translate the Einstein formula into the atom bomb required years of painstaking effort by the world's best brains. To translate "one world" into a living ethic of peace will require no less . . . and perhaps more.

It is not a softhearted job of teaching us to love our enemies, or even our friends; it is a hardheaded job of sharing the same world with all sorts of people, whether we particularly like them or not. And sharing implies justice, and justice implies some kind of world-wide organization to pronounce and enforce judgment; and this in turn demands, in addition to our best brains, the support of the plain people of the world, in all countries and of all races.

Here the teachers come in—teachers in school, where everything has to be learned by children, and also teachers out of school, where so much has to be unlearned by adults. The writer, the preacher, the radio commentator, all are teachers in this wider sense. Their task is not only to sell our democratic way of life to the defeated nations, but to sell ourselves a new concept of the future. There will be no lucky nations in the next war. "One world" has come, for good or evil, whether we like it or not.

Perhaps we had better learn to like it, since we have to live in it. But this again is where the teachers come in. They can explore and chart the new territory that has no geographical frontiers—territory of the mind and spirit in which every clear thinker is a Columbus. . . . The war against prejudice, greed, and ignorance is eternal, and they are the commandos of peace.

* Author of *So Well Remembered* and other best sellers. From *This Week Magazine*, November 24, 1945. Used with permission.

For Tim

Easter Power

Was there ever in history a time when outward circumstances and inner mood were at greater variance? Our circumstances are all of victory: the United Nations stand astride two defeated peoples of Europe and Asia and within our own land our industrial prowess, fresh from its unequaled wartime record, faces into new peacetime achievements. But the mood is otherwise: it is confusion, not elation; fear, not confidence; defeat, not triumph. The farther we leave V-E and V-J Days behind, the less any sense of victory remains with us. But this mood must change! We must lay hold upon some stronger faith—a faith that rests upon a decisive experience of the human spirit.

Two thousand years ago, there was a similar disparity. Easter morning woke, within the followers of Jesus, a spirit of triumph, yet the failure and defeat of Calvary, in terms of external appearances, remained unchanged. Those first Christians never sought to ignore, or deny, the devastating effect of the experience of beholding Jesus put to death upon a cross. But the mood of defeat gave way to an exalted sense of spiritual victory.

The experience of Easter came to a group of simple men and women upon whom society had bestowed none of its outward symbols of greatness; they had neither wealth nor position, nor power; but they had greatness of spirit —sensitiveness, moral earnestness, inspired self-giving. Easter changed not at all their circumstances, but it changed *them*. It brought to them an experience of fellowship with the living Christ in whom, as Jesus of Galilee, they had already found the power and the will of God.

They shared this experience in common and so held together in fellowship. That fellowship was the beginning of the Christian Church as we know it today. What as a fellowship they experienced on the level of faith, as a fellowship they applied on the level of social relations. From that Easter experience there grew the conviction that "God is no respecter of persons," which later became the decision by the Council of Jerusalem that in Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free.

Again, the Easter experience evoked among those early peoples a revolutionary conviction of stewardship, which led into the proposals for the distribution of material possessions as told in the third chapter of Acts. The soundness of the technical aspects of that proposal is unimportant beside the fact that the Easter experience called for a drastic overhauling of prevailing economic relationships. The motivation that underlies this first attempt at Christian communism serves to separate it both from the

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Marxist type of communism and from the present prevailing *status quo.*

Further, the Easter experience led to an affirmation of their allegiance to God over and above loyalty to political powers. To Peter and others there was a line up to which the state was the embodiment of law and order and beyond which it became the embodiment of moral anarchy. When that line was crossed they chose God and prison.

The Easter experience is the exciting story of a handful of individuals standing incredulously but joyously before the greatest experience in the whole spiritual life of mankind. Out of what first happened within them there has issued the passion for justice and brotherhood above race and class and nation in which alone the hope for society is to be found.

Farewell Message

On April 1, I take up my work with the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, as Associate Secretary of its Department of Christian Social Relations, and as Co-Secretary with the Rev. James Myers of its Division of Industrial Relations. Thus with this issue I relinquish my editorial connection with SOCIAL PROGRESS. Until June 1, I continue responsibility for several specific projects within the department. But until a successor has been chosen, Miss Elsie G. Rodgers, now Associate Director, will be in charge of the department.

To all those with whom I have been associated, particularly the hundreds of chairmen and secretaries of Social Education and Action in our synods, presbyteries and local Churches, I express my profound gratitude. The main responsibility for the thrust of the Presbyterian Church on behalf of a community and a social order that is more like the Kingdom of God, on earth, has rested and will continue to rest primarily upon the hosts of ministers and lay men and women who respond to a divine discontent toward things as they are.

While the pattern of my relationship to the Presbyterian Church is, of course, changed, I will feel as always a part of it. Our Church is a vital part of the Federal Council of Churches and one cannot escape this feeling, if he would. Moreover, there is no real future for our denomination, nor for any other, outside of the growing fellowship and strength of united Protestantism. That conviction I have always sought to express through Social Education and Action and to be in the Federal Council of Churches is but to support it in another way.—C.P.H.

Education for Living

By H. L. Caswell *

IN 1859 Herbert Spencer, the English philosopher, wrote a challenging article on the question, "What knowledge is of most worth?" He made it clear that since any one person could learn only a very small portion of the vast accumulation of knowledge, the selection of what was to be learned determined the worth of education. Those things should be chosen, he declared, that would contribute most to improved day-by-day living by the individual.

The problem posed by Herbert Spencer nearly a century ago is far more difficult and important as we emerge from World War II. Today we find ourselves in a world demanding understandings, skills, and attitudes on the part of our people such as they have never possessed. The great distances of the world have been erased. People strange to us are now just next door. Our fate is tied up with theirs as never before. What happens in Iran or Korea vitally affects our lives and what we do affects the lives of millions of people in every corner of the earth. Our own national life becomes more and more complex. Intricate economic issues arise constantly upon which the citizen must form opinions. Price control, wages and profits, and a multitude of other problems have only one adequate balance wheel—an informed and active public opinion. Likewise in the personal realm the complexities of living a satisfactory life are greatly increased. Too many homes are broken or unhappy, nutrition is less adequate than it should be even with existing food supplies, emotional instability is at an alarming level, young people are finding it increasingly difficult to get jobs and to establish themselves in adult life. Under such circumstances, any thoughtful person must question whether our schools are teaching the most important things to our children and young people.

This question is given added point when considered in the light of the learnings upon which many of our schools place major emphasis. Contrary to much popular opinion, the dominant emphasis in the school curriculum is still on reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the memorization of facts about the past. A survey of New York State schools in 1938 revealed that boys and girls learn many of the facts of history but that "alertness to local problems is clearly not a part of the equipment for citizenship of boys and girls now leaving high school in

* Director, Division of Instruction, Teachers College, Columbia University.

ew York State." It was found that xty per cent of the schools in predominantly agricultural communies offered no courses in agriculture nd that of 110 cities, mostly in inustrial areas, 97 offered no courses n vocational education.

Some communities, however, are ot content to let their schools move long their accustomed ways. They ave instituted organized plans of tudy with an eye to developing a rogram better adapted to the future eeds of education. The town of Iontclair, New Jersey, is a case in oint. Early in the war the Board f Education, the superintendent of chools, and the high school faculty ecognized that it was necessary to o some careful planning if the chools were to be ready to meet ostwar conditions. Discussions ith citizens and members of the eaching staff pointed to the probaility that the most acute problems ould arise in the senior high school, nd the principal and the staff of ie high school were authorized to ndertake a special study of postar needs and to develop plans for eeting them.

At this point an important decion was taken. It was recognized iat development of the kind of proram needed must be a community enture, and not just a school staff atter. A lay advisory committee as organized to co-operate with the rriculum committee of the high hool. The parent-teacher association held general meetings and organized discussion groups. Attention was given particularly to the kind of education the people of the community wanted for their children and the needs for which the high school should plan; and the place of education for work, for effective home membership, for health, and for citizenship was considered.

In the meantime the teachers' committee analyzed the program of the high school to see how well it met the needs identified, while other teachers and students were involved in conferences. This brought the work to the point of movement from discussion to action, the point at which many such efforts fail. A school program cannot be changed all at one time; yet it is often a temptation to make paper plans as though it could be, and disillusionment results. It is essential to recognize that improvement comes slowly at best. Possibly a social science course can be modified to provide greater emphasis on international understanding, or a new core course dealing with critical personal and social problems may be started. But at the same time it is of first importance that these specific changes be seen in relation to the total curriculum if the full job is to be done.

The Montclair committee made careful plans to bridge the gap between discussion and action. It invited the faculty to propose projects that they would like to undertake in

line with the needed improvements. Plans were developed to initiate several of the most promising of these on a trial basis. This plan has been in progress for two years. Some projects fail. Others prove successful and are gradually being extended.

One of the most encouraging features of this work has been the kind of problem that has been identified as important when representatives of the entire community are involved. Attention has focused particularly on the issue of what it is important for all students to study in order to be effective citizens. The question of the high school's responsibility in preparing for home and family life was considered at length by neighborhood discussion groups organized by the parent-teacher association. Information was collected from health officials about the health problems of the community. A great deal of study was given to the provision of education for work. It is recognized quite generally that all young people should have a balanced education including both general education and education for an occupation. This presents a particularly difficult problem for youth not going into the professions, for facilities are not available locally for vocational preparation on the high school or technical institute level. The possibility of increasing facilities for the high school is being studied.

Most of the changes being tried at present relate to the problem of providing an adequate program of common learnings for all students. Each project relates to a specific aspect of the curriculum but all have implications for an evolving general plan.

It should not be assumed that changes such as these can be made without differences of opinion. Teachers are trained in particular subjects. Their interests naturally focus on their specializations. Introducing new things in the school program means that some phases of the existing curriculum must receive less emphasis, for the curriculum is already overcrowded. People are, of course, not happy when their vested interests are affected adversely. Also, laymen who look on education as the privilege of the few rather than the need of the many prefer to see schools retain their traditional form.

Other illustrations of communities at work on their school programs could be given, but the important point is that it is becoming increasingly evident that communities must assume greater responsibility for the basic policies and objectives of their schools if education adequate to our times is to be provided. Vital education can be provided only when schooling is seen as a means of improving living and the entire community helps to make it function in this way.

Liquor Advertising

By Roy M. and Ebba H. Smith *

"IT'S 'good taste' to doff the hat to a lady as you pass her on the street . . . it marks you as someone nice to know! To choose 'Progress' is another mark of 'Good Taste' . . . Yes, it's a beer that's nice to know, because Progress is GOOD to taste every time."

Thus, by subtle implication and association of ideas, liquor advertisers do their devastating work of influencing public opinion. Through the use of beautiful colors, expert photography, and often by reproductions of famous paintings in their advertising, liquor dealers are making an eye appeal to millions of readers. Evidently they consider it potent propaganda, since, according to *Tide,* a news magazine of advertising and marketing, they spend thirty million dollars a year on advertising and promotion. Let us examine some of their techniques of association.

Association

1. People of charm and distinction. Liquor ads for Alta, Lord Calvert, Blue Ribbon, and Blatz, for example, portray beautiful, glamorous women and handsome, distinguished men, with such captions as "For Men of Distinction."

2. Perfection in nature. Pictures of exquisite flowers, appealing dogs, and beautiful woodland scenes are used by Dixie Belle, William Penn, Old Thompson, Four Roses.

3. Historical personages and events. With authentic, historical pictures of the early days of America, the brewers of Philadelphia Whisky suggest that liquor is a part of our great American heritage and tradition. With a picture of General Washington arriving at the home of Mistress Betsy Ross, we read, "A Heritage to Remember—'That the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation.' All honor to Philadelphia! A city famed since Colonial Days for many glorious traditions, such as its proud 'heritage of hospitality,' today honorably upheld by Philadelphia Blend."

4. The distillers of Imperial Whisky would have us believe that it is our patriotic duty to buy liquor, since the distilling industry pays more than a billion dollars a year in taxes, thus helping to pay for the cost of the war. They neglect to state that the tax is paid, not by the brewer, but by the consumer, to whom it is passed.

* Assistant Pastor and Educational Director, respectively, Presbyterian Church, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

5. Big business. Seagram's ads read, "Men who plan beyond tomorrow like Canadian whisky," implying that liquor goes with big business and important executives.

6. Gracious living and hospitality. "It's not only smart, it's charming, to serve delicious Roma California sherry, or port," says Elsa Maxwell, international authority on smart and gracious entertaining. "To ring the bell as a host, serve Four Roses."

7. Sports and good times. Schlitz, Millers, Kinsey, and others use pictures of quail hunting, fishing, ice skating, the workshop, outdoor refreshments, skiing, to suggest that liquor is the corollary of zestful living.

8. Quality. "In silver you're sure when you say Sterling, in whisky you're sure when you say Seagram's." A picture of a gay, strutting cock, with the caption "Headed for Greatness" is another indication of quality—to be acquired apparently by drinking Schenley whisky.

9. The observance of festive occasions. For proper observance of Thanksgiving, we are exhorted to serve Calvert. One ad even displayed a picture of the Pilgrims walking to Church! "Observe the spirit of the Christmas season today as in 1892" by drinking Kinsey. A full-page advertisement in a number of large dailies just before Christmas one year began with the line, "It is more blessed to give than to receive," and it continued with the plea to put this holy sentiment into action by giving as gifts certain brands of whisky and gin, thus to exhibit the true Christmas spirit. One picture showed the dove of peace with an olive branch in its mouth, with the hope for the time when "peace on earth and good will among all men shall be the heritage of every father to his son." The ad failed to state how drinking Great Western Wines would help us to realize that hope.

10. Happy times in the home. One of the most despicable forms of liquor advertising is that which plays upon the love of home or suggests that drinking is a part of normal home life, in order to induce young people to drink. We are now being deluged with appeals in behalf of the boys coming home. One ad shows a young man and his smiling mother carrying in a platter of fried chicken, with a smaller picture of the family drinking beer, and the caption: "Coming home means home cooking—wading into tender, golden-fried chicken 'a-la-mom' with plenty of gravy and hot biscuits . . . and then . . . to top it off . . . a glass of Premium Quality Falstaff. That's what coming home means—getting back to the same things you used to enjoy." Another shows a smiling lad asleep, with mother turning out the light, and again: "Coming home means hitting the sack. Sleeping deep in the feathers

n that same, good, restful bed. And, that very evening, just before urning in—a tall, cool glass of Premium Quality Falstaff."

Moderation

Another subtle approach is hrough an appeal to moderation. "Be right—drink light," say King Whisky ads. They do not state that o take the first drink is for some like starting an avalanche—once it is started, it can't be stopped. It is estimated that 600,000 drinkers become extreme cases classed as chronic alcoholics. They start, of course, as "moderate drinkers."

If liquor dealers were to be truthful in their advertising, their ads would portray vivid pictures of tragic accidents due to liquor; of broken homes; of drunken derelicts; of piles of money paid by taxpayers to support institutions caring for the broken bodies and neurotic minds of drink addicts; of huge supplies of sugar which the liquor industry consumes, but which the housewife must so carefully ration; of the millions of pounds of edible grains and other grains suitable for farm feed that go into the preparation of beer and malt beverages; and of the staggering cost of crime, a large proportion of which, according to J. Edgar Hoover, could be attributed directly or indirectly to liquor. But since this truthful advertising would not serve the purpose of influencing the public mind favorably toward its product, the liquor industry must rely on slyly twisting the truth.

What has been said in regard to visual appeals in magazines and newspapers applies with equal force to the audio appeal on the radio, with the additional advantage—for the advertiser—that the spoken word conditions even the very young child who cannot yet read the advertising.

"Whatever is right can be achieved through the irresistible power of awakened and informed public opinion. Our object, therefore, is not to inquire whether a thing can be done, but whether it ought to be done, and if it ought to be done, so to exert the forces of publicity that public opinion will compel it to be done."

This statement publicized by William Randolph Hearst suggests a program of action. Fraudulent advertising in regard to injurious food, poisonous drugs, and shoddy clothing has been exposed. Shall we continue to allow liquor dealers to poison people's minds by their misuse of lofty sentiments, noble traditions, and Christian symbolism? Let's have a vigorous campaign of protest to our magazines, newspapers, and radio stations against the use of such advertising; let us demand of our Congressmen that laws be made requiring truthful advertising; and then let us insist that these laws be fully enforced.

WORLD ORDER MOVEMENT

Protestant Action for Peace

A sense of a God-given responsibility for moral leadership by the United States i bringing into being the United Nations was widespread among Protestant group during the period leading up to the United Nations Conference. This conviction wa strongly reaffirmed through the program for the coming months sponsored by th Federal Council of Churches at its special meeting held in Columbus, Ohio, March 5-7 1946. The statement issued by the Council says: "During the month of September w suggest that the interdenominational and denominational agencies join in holdin regional conferences for local clerical and lay leaders on the Christian strategy fo world order. In October, following these training conferences, we propose a nation wide mobilization of the Church people for Christian peace action. World-wid Communion Sunday can serve to initiate this enlistment. This period should culminat in World Order Day, November 10, with a new affirmation of the Christian mission fo world order." It is hoped that the Presbyterian General Assembly this May wil support this program of United Protestantism through its plans for the Worl Order Movement.

The program projected last fall by the World Order Movement for the post-Easte period anticipated this emphasis which now has become an effort of United Prote tantism. To quote again from the Federal Council: "The period from Easter t Whitsunday, 1946, which includes the anniversary of the San Francisco Conferenc offers an appropriate time for renewed dedication to the bringing in of an orde of brotherhood, freedom, and justice. We urge that the message on the Churches an World Order be presented to our Church people through sermons and group discussion The various study programs at this time should lead up to a service of commitmer on Whitsunday, expressing the obligation of the Christian community to further th development of world community."

Post-Easter Program

Augmenting the plan outlined last month, the program will include:

I. **Sunday, April 28.** ***The Churches and World Order***—Special Church servic with sermon based upon the Message of the Federal Council. This Message is bein currently mailed to every Presbyterian pastor. A limited supply of copies are availabl free, on request to the Department of Social Education and Action.

II. **May 1-22.** ***Group Meetings*** Four meetings of Church groups for study an discussion based on the study outline of the Message on World Order, in classes, forum panels, etc. In addition to the Message which is available as noted above, a stud outline of the Message will be similarly available. *World Order and You,* a film stri and other World Order materials are noted on page 41 of this issue.

III. **May 26 or June 2.** ***Service of Commitment.***

As I sever my connection with the Department of Social Education and Action, should like to urge upon the Churches that Presbyterians carry forward the work well begun in the World Order Movement. I think I am stating a simple fact when say that the Presbyterian Church today holds a place of significant leadership in th movement of United Protestantism; for perhaps its most important contribution li in its understanding of and participation in the opportunity and responsibility Christian citizens to affect United States foreign policy and the relationships of nation

CAMERON P. HAL

Further information with reference to the post-Easter program may be obtained, upon reques from World Order Movement, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

POLITICAL ACTION

Social Security

Two important bills for the extension of Social Security are now before Congress. S. 1050—H. R. 3293 offer a comprehensive program for the improvement of the existing Social Security system. S. 1606—H. R. 4730 offer a national health program of far-reaching importance. In the House of Representatives, the House Ways and Means Committee has before it a report that calls for amendment to the Social Security Act. It is anticipated that hearings will begin soon on the report and related legislation—that is, soon after the date of this writing, February 25.

Education and Labor

Three valuable documents just issued by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor are available to help interested Christian citizens in understanding some phases of this legislation. All are available from the Sub-Committee on Labor and Education, Room 10-B, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.: 1. *National Health Act of 1945*—Senate Committee Print No. 1. This includes a text of S. 1606 and a section of questions and answers about the prepaid medical care provision of the bill. 2. *National Health Act of 1945*—Senate Committee Print No. 2. This is a brief summary of the health bill, including statements of major groups for and against compulsory health insurance with articles by doctors in favor of health insurance. 3. *The Experimental Health Program of the United States Department of Agriculture*—an illustrated report and evaluation of the health plan tried out in rural areas.

Atomic Control

Domestic control of atomic energy is the subject of legislation for which Congressional committees are now seeking testimony. Last fall a piece of legislation, the May-Johnson Bill which would have placed the control of atomic energy for nine years under a commission with unprecedented powers, was introduced. Much opposition to this bill was offered on the part of scientists and other groups who saw in it an attempt to leave control in the hands of powerful military-minded groups. At the present writing (February 25) hearings are being conducted on another bill. S. 1717, introduced in the Senate by Senator McMahon (D., Conn.) and referred to a special Senate Committee on Atomic Energy of which he is chairman, offers what to many is a source of hopeful legislation in this field. This bill declares it to be "the policy of the people of the United States that the development and utilization of atomic energy shall be directed toward improving public welfare, increasing the standard of living, strengthening free competition among private enterprises so far as practicable, and cementing world peace."

The bill as Senator McMahon introduced it will be modified in accordance with some of the testimony that has been given. For instance, a closer liaison will be maintained between the committee and the Military Department of the Government in what is thought to be the interest of public welfare.

In addition to the pamphlet of this department, *This Atomic World*, the following may be sources of helpful information. These are available free from the Senate Committee on Atomic Energy, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.: 1. Comparative summaries of each Senate bill for domestic control of atomic energy. 2. Hearings on the control of atomic energy, parts 1 and 2. 3. Bibliography on atomic energy—a carefully checked list for the general reader, compiled in co-operation with the Library of Congress.

On the State of the World

(Continued from page 13)

in the mines. It is important to bear in mind that a diet which barely staves off actual death by starvation merely postpones the peril. Such people cannot work to produce. The United States Army authorities in Germany told me that, partly on this account, partly on account of lack of fertilizer, they expected that the food situation in Germany next year would be worse than this year.

Another common danger is a political disunity between the great allies that won the war, a disunity so great that it makes a mockery of those freedoms from fear and want which were the avowed goals of the war. The British, for example, feel that their national safety is almost as much imperiled today by Soviet activities in the Mediterranean area and the Near East as it was imperiled when Rommel was knocking at the door of Egypt. Such fears congeal the hearts of men and they prevent lifting from the world the terrible economic burden of vast armament.

Also, overhanging the entire situation is the atomic bomb, knowledge of which has come to men when their hearts have been hardened by war and when they seem least qualified to exercise the self-restraint called for by this new and awesome power. The Assembly of the United Nations established an atomic bomb commission, responsible only to the Security Council. But its action was perfunctory and taken solely at the bidding of the Big Three. The Assembly gave no sign of hopefulness that its action would solve the problem of atomic energy. Rather, the Assembly seemed to feel that it might have been better if the Assembly had been allowed to have some continuing voice in the matter.

The world-wide ills of which I speak are beyond the power of words to portray. Yet such postwar conditions, appalling as they are, should not surprise us. They were almost inevitable. It could have been foreseen, indeed some did foresee that a Second World War was bound to bring such a destruction of human, material, and spiritual values as to imperil our civilization and to make further war more likely, rather than less likely. Wars to end war are an illusion. Wars, more than any other form of human activity, create the conditions that breed more war. We now see that. *That fact must not, however, be used to generate discouragement, defeatism, or a fatalistic acceptance of a new war as inevitable. Rather, it must be taken as a challenge to us to rise to new heights of effort to avert from humanity the fate which otherwise awaits it.*

There are those who feel that such facts as I have referred to here ought to be kept concealed, or at least be sugar-coated, lest our people become discouraged. I do not claim to be an expert in the art of manipulating public opinion. But I reject that view. It is quite true that a frank portrayal of the difficulties we face will doubtless discourage some. To that we can be indifferent. Those who will be thus discouraged are not the people on whom we depend today. Those liable to discouragement are people who know their own inadequacy and who have no outside source of faith on which to draw. Such people have reason to feel discouraged. But there are also those who are aroused by the very immensity of a task and who then summon the strength needed to cope with it. At the moment the need is for quality, more than quantity. Only a newborn spiritual intensity can orient the world into a new direction.

But I am not really afraid that the American people, least of all our Christian people, will in any wholesale way give up because the task ahead is difficult. The American people have always responded once it was made clear to them that a need was vital. Our greatest lapses have been due to the fact that those in authority have been afraid to trust the American people and have kept from them unpleasant truth

No one today has a right to conceal the facts, or their gravity.

Out of hard challenge can come a good response. Professor Toynbee has traced the rise and fall of all known civilizations in terms of challenge and response. There are some challenges so overwhelming that there is no response, and then the civilization expires. Sometimes there is no challenge, life is soft, and then too the civilization expires. It is through challenge that brings response that great achievements come.

There is no reason to believe that the present challenge is so overwhelming that it will snuff out all reponse. Already there are responses, and they come in the main from where the challenge has been hardest.

Let me give you one example. It is no little thing that we already have in being a world organization largely fashioned by the American people and endorsed by them with virtual unanimity. That was the response of the American people to the shattering of their most cherished tradition, the tradition that we could live free from involvement in the politics of Europe and of Asia.

I can give you an example from the Assembly of the United Nations. There, one occasion particularly brought about a real spirit of fellowship. That was the discussion of the food situation. As nation after nation portrayed its desperate need, and as others pledged themselves to work and sacrifice to meet that need, there was a mounting sense of human brotherhood. Mr. Bevin spoke of how inscrutable were the ways of providence, and how hard it was to face the fact that, to the death and destruction caused by war, must now be added the cruel consequences of an unkindly turn of nature. But as he spoke I thought that perhaps this new trial is needed to evoke, as war could not, the spirit of humanity and self-sacrifice which man now needs for his salvation.

There are enough responses to the challenge that confronts us so that we can have hope. Paradoxically, we can have the greater hope because the situation seems so hopeless. That very fact may lead men to recognize their own inadequacy and draw on spiritual sources which can alone prevail.

What is happening now, particularly what is happening in the area of world politics, is much like what happened after the last war. Then, as now, the great alliance that had won the war fell apart when the common peril had been overcome. Its members began actively to maneuver against each other. I saw it in 1919, 1920, and 1921 in London, Paris, and Berlin. Much of that, however, then went on behind the scenes. Indeed, that story has never yet been fully told. This time, thanks to the United Nations, world diplomacy is largely conducted in public, and national maneuvers quickly become revealed. Therefore, this time we know. Not only do we know, but, knowing, we are not indifferent. Those two facts alone provide good ground for hope. We can grieve that the initial postwar pattern is the same old pattern that in the past has led to further war. But that, as I have said, was almost bound to be. We can rejoice that we see that pattern, that we quickly recognize it for what it is, and that there is a growing determination to do something about it. That might not have been. As it is, we have the knowledge and the understanding. That is at least the start we need if we are to break the cycle of recurrent war. Also, there is a rising spiritual tide.

That spiritual tide is not yet adequate, either in volume or in capacity to relate itself to actualities. That is a reason why we are having this special meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The event is important, for our Churches are not weak things to be tossed about by world events. We are a power. We have proved that in the past. Let us now prove it again.

Sanctuary

Meditation on the Lord's Prayer

This is the fourth of a series of five meditations on the Lord's Prayer prepared by Rev. Stephen J. Mathers, M.A., minister of St. James-Bond United Church, Toronto, Canada, and used in the vesper services of the International Conference on Adult Education at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, during the summer of 1940.

Theme: "Forgive us our trespasses,
As we forgive them that trespass against us."

Call to Worship:

Leader: No man hath seen God at any time.

People: If we love one another, God dwelleth in us and his love is perfected in us.

Leader: God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God and God in him.

People: Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.

Invocation:

O Lord our God, who art always more ready to bestow thy good gifts upon us than we are to seek them, and art willing to give more than we desire or deserve, help us so to seek that we may truly find, so to ask that we may joyfully receive, so to knock that the door of thy mercy may be opened unto us. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Hymn: "God Reveals His Presence."

Scripture Lesson: Matt. 18: 21-35.

Meditation:

Here is no mincing of the question of sin. This does not read, "Forgive us if we have trespassed." Knowing what is in the heart of man, Jesus plainly said, "All need to pray for forgiveness. There is none righteous before God." Later in the New Testament a writer says: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousnes" (I John 1: 8, 9). To pray this prayer is to be reminded that we are sinners.

Let us here change the pronoun to the singular and pray, "Forgive me my trespasses." We may do so with very great benefit to ourselves. Earlier we have prayed: "Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven." My trespasses, my sins, stand as deeds that prevent the coming of the Kingdom; they are thoughts, words, deeds that trespass the will of God. For these, you and I as individuals need to pray to be forgiven.

But the petition must go more deeply than that. It is not so much deeds that need to be forgiven, as it is a self, a personality that is strongly inclined toward sin. It is I who need to be forgiven. So we stand, each one of us, before God, confessing the evil in our very nature and crying out, "Forgive me, O Lord, for I am a sinful man." The measure of our sin is to be seen as we think of the Kingdom of Righteousness in which God's will is done.

Now, put the plural pronouns in their proper place, and consider our corporate sins. "Forgive us our trespasses." Here we come upon the sins we commit because we are members of a nation, a race, a social, economic, or educational group—even the sins we commit because we are members of a Church. We are part of the life of these various groups, and must bear our share in their wrongdoing. These are corporate sins, to be forgiven only after corporate confession and repentance.

If we are to be forgiven, we must learn to hate as God hates, and to love as God loves:
—to hate the cruelty of the oppressor;
—to hate the contempt of truth—but to love the liar;
—to hate the corruption of youth and manhood—but to love him who corrupts;
—to hate all sin—but to love all sinners.
And it may help us to recall this definition of love: Love is the energy of a steadfast will bent on creating fellowship.

As we forgive them that trespass against us
There's the rub—how can we, weak, human, ridden by passions, forgive so as to be forgiven? We are but men! With us it is impossible—but with God all things are possible. Through God's strength and mercy we may be enabled to forgive. What tremendous, staggering need there is in our world today for the exercise of this grace of forgiveness, even until seventy times seven. Who is to determine where the magnanimity of forgiveness is to end, and justice to begin? How far is forgiveness practical as we deal with Japan and Germany? We need to remember that the man who has injured us is in need of help—perhaps just the kind of help we can give, if we do not choose to get even with him. If we do not learn to forgive, how can we ever hope to have peace on earth, good will among men? Perhaps the whole thing is stated in this quatrain:

"He drew a circle that shut me out—
Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout.
But Love and I had the wit to win:
We drew a circle that took him in."

There is our task—to keep enlarging the circle of those whom our love takes in. There is no petition in this prayer that should cause us such heart-searching or demand such change in our way of life as this: "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us."

et us pray:
"As we forgive—"
We are but man, O God.
Thou art in heaven and we upon the earth,

Dost thou demand that we be perfect as thou art perfect?
With man it is impossible, but not with thee, O God.

Take from us the weakness of resentment and revenge,
Give us the capacity to understand,
Let us not include the guilty and the innocent in a single condemnation—
especially as we think of Germany and Japan.

Make us partakers of thine infinite pity.

Make us content to leave all judgment to thee—the all-seeing Judge of all.

Teach us to hate, as thou dost hate,
—the sins we have committed as privileged nations;
—the pride and exploitations of our power;
—our callousness to the decay of the bodies and souls of unemployed;
—the undernourishment of children and the denial of opportunity to youth;
—the cleavages and divisions in our social life.

Forgive us the egoism which belongs to our nature:
—the sin which is entwined with the roots of our being;
—the unforgiveness of our hearts;
—the blindness which hides from us our need to be forgiven.

Open our eyes to the wonder of thy forgiveness, O Lord.
Open our eyes to the wonder of our forgiveness, seen in Jesus Christ.
Let it inspire in us a forgiveness and magnanimity which can undo the evil in th
world, make atonement for men's sins, and so be used of thee to establish th
Kingdom on earth. Amen.

What Is a Good Community?

(Continued from page 18)

will be a fellowship of people who respect and trust each other and who care for eac
other, and who give effect to that friendship in spontaneous good will and in careful
planned programs. It is not enough that this attitude of mutual respect and good wi
shall be held toward some of the people of the community. If there are sections of th
community that are beyond the social pale, if some people live "across the tracks,"
there are people we "do good" to, rather than live and work with, to that extent w
do not have a good community. A good community is not created by organizatio
Though we have the best organization in the world, if we have not real affecti
for our fellow community members it may profit us very little. On the other hand, th
love that is deep and purposeful will not wait for an emotion of sympathy to be arous
by touching circumstance. Intelligent purposefulness will explore possibilities, will l
long-range plans, and will work steadily for their fulfillment.

For many centuries all the elements that enter into the modern automobile we
available to men, but they had no pattern of achievement to bring it into being. A
the elements that make up a good community are within our reach, but we have n
had a vision of what might be, and we have lived in relative tawdriness and squal
The first needs for achieving the good community are a picture of what might be, a
the aspiration to achieve that picture aspiration implemented by practical planni
and persistent action.

Economic Implications of Strikes

(Continued from page 8)

Effects on Prices

Feelings of gratification over progress ward settling the strikes need not exlude objective consideration of the terms f settlement, or an estimation of where ie economic situation stands as a result. he range of wage increases agreed to by ord, Chrysler, Radio Corporation, and thers is about 15 to 18 per cent. These re large increases. If the pattern is to e followed in every controversy, and ages adjust to this level where they have ot already done so, price increases will llow in many cases, the O. P. A. having o choice but to acquiesce.

Wage increases can be absorbed without raising prices excessively or squeezing rofits unbearably if there is a proporonate increase in output per worker and capacity operations can be maintained. ight was thrown on current output per orker by a statement of Henry Ford, 2d, resident of the Ford Motor Company, n an address in Detroit, on January 9. iting figures for certain operations, Mr. ord said that on the whole productivity er worker in the company's plants deined more than 34 per cent during the ar period. The automobile industry has een one of the worst sufferers, but evience of substantial declines in other inustries is available. Mr. Ford has agreed an 18-cent wage increase, nevertheless, ecause, as he said on another occasion, we have faith in the future of America." owever, he refers to "the risk we have ken."

The country should be aware that in ccepting general wage increases of 15 to 8 per cent the industries that are now ffering from low man-hour output are mbling on improvement. They are oping for a rise in productivity, anticiating it, and making commitments based on the anticipation. In the nature of things labor cannot make as definite and unequivocal commitments on output, but management has a right to expect responsible co-operation and performance by workers, removal of "feather-bedding" and similar restrictive practices, and penalties for unauthorized strikes, slowdowns, excessive absenteeism, and other labor evils. For if this co-operation is not given, the wage increases will prove insupportable. Moreover, it is appropriate to say now that the future improvement in man-hour output, which is expected and allowed for in the present wage increases, cannot properly be made the basis for further wage demands when it occurs.

Where the drop in efficiency has reached the proportion cited by Mr. Ford, room for vast improvement exists. In other industries, however, where reconversion has involved less drastic readjustments, there is less room for improvement, and gains commensurate with these wage increases are hardly to be expected. If these industries have to accept 15 to 18 per cent wage increases, the squeeze will be severe.

The Question of Volume

Along with increased productivity as support for higher wages naturally goes the expectation of huge volume. Nearly all industries expect high volume when they can get the production, and are ready to take it into consideration in negotiating wage rates. The principle of basing wage rates on prophecies of capacity operation, however, raises another question, which, because it relates to the long rather than the short run, now receives little consideration. If wage rates are lifted to the most the producer can bear when he is driving every facility at its fullest capacity, what will the situation be when this condition changes? . . .

Little attention is now being given to the effect of wage rates upon employment, for the opinion that the industries can

sell everything they can turn out is so prevalent that few give thought to the possibility that labor may price itself out of the market. But if a condition of full employment is reached after the industries get going, how long will it last if the cost of union labor raised by monopolistic bargaining sets prices of goods at levels beyond the reach of unorganized workers, those living on fixed incomes and similar groups, and if capacity output therefore cannot be sold? A condition of general inflation and accumulation of wants can obscure a lack of balance in prices and costs for a time, but in the long run it must have its effect in falling sales, declining production and employment, deflation and depression.

A further question suggests itself. Will it then be said that private industry has failed to provide full employment and that the Government must intervene? Will the responsibility that excessive wage rates bear for the unemployment be ignored? . . .

The Whole View

This view of the dangers is presented here, not as a prophecy of "boom and bust," but to urge understanding of the situation as a whole. Many people form their opinions around one aspect of the wage question. Some think the decline in the take-home pay of warworkers is the only important matter; to them the answer seems simple, namely, that wages should be raised "to maintain purchasing power." Others think it solely a question of ability to pay—that manufacturers expect to make money, and that wages therefore should be raised.

The report of the fact-finding board in the General Motors case was based on precisely these two points. It made a forecast of the probable hours of work by the corporation in 1946 and calculated the percentage increase in straight-time average hourly earnings necessary to produce, for the estimated working hours, a weekly take-home pay equal to the war figure It joined with this an estimate of th corporation's ability to pay the require increase. This involved forecasts, not onl of hours of work, but of output per man hour, materials costs, sales volume, an earnings. What emerged from this fore casting process was an opinion that Gen eral Motors could pay the percentage in crease required to maintain take-home pa in case hours of work were reduced fro the war average of 45.6 to a little over 4 Recommendation of a 19½-cents an hou wage increase was made accordingly.

Forecasts are not facts. Whether the are reasonable expectations or not is solel for the General Motors Corporation, whic must bear the risks, to judge. From th viewpoint of the public interest, the im portant matter is that the board confine itself to a narrow view of the questio This is not said in criticism, for the boar was not charged with determining na tional wage policy, which is a function o the Government. Nevertheless, figure have gone into the record; they have in fluenced the terms of other negotiation and their influence will continue to spread Yet they ignore the most important que tions, namely, whether the increase in cost will limit production and growth and le sen employment; and whether it will co tribute to inflation.

A whole view of the matter emphasize these hazards. It also indicates the onl way in which the inflationary effects o the wage increases can be absorbed. Thi is the way of increased efficiency an man-hour output. The optimistic view i that this increase will appear as the strik end, war veterans eager to get ahead retur to work, and the industries settle dow Encouragement is found in the fact tha discussions of productivity, company secu rity and penalties for wildcat strikes ar part of many current labor negotiations and that many of the unions are willing t give assurances and make provision fo penalties.

The Workshop

A Local Church S.E.A. Committee nd Boys in Trouble. In the area of xposition Park Presbyterian Church, allas, Texas, several boys who were not embers of any Church were constantly tting into trouble for both large and hall mischief, and on one or two oc-asions they had been taken in hand by ie law. This Church has a fine gym-asium, but at present no employed orker to operate a program. An elder ho is a leader in that Church in S.E.A. atters decided that he would organize a asketball team himself and teach the same oys in Sunday School. He went after the oys and found them eager to form a eam. From the beginning he let it be nown that he expected to see them three mes every week. Things went quite well or several weeks, then two boys who were aders stayed away from Sunday School r two Sundays. The following week when came time for an important basketball ame the coach left these two boys sit on ie side lines and the game was played ithout their help. No word was spoken, ut the following Sunday these boys were ack in their regular places.

An S.E.A. Committee at Work on etter Negro-White Relations. What ould the S.E.A. Committee of the Phila-elphia Presbytery do to further the cause f Negro-white relations, for already many rganizations were working in that field? y the same token, perhaps this committee ould do even more than in many com-unities, for the organizations working in ie field had collected a wealth of in-rmation. This information many of the hurches did not have. The committee erefore read and condensed and issued sizable mimeographed report filled with eful educational material for background formation to be used by any Church wanting to work in this area. The report covers population, housing, health, education, colleges, crime and delinquency, recreation, public facilities and state law, state law and armed forces, U.S.O., employment, religion and organizations in the field. The survey is titled *The Negro in Philadelphia.* It is to be noted that this report was prepared without the committee doing any original survey work, but by bringing together material already available.

One section is titled "What the Presbytery of Philadelphia Is Doing." This includes a description of work in Negro Churches and Neighborhood Houses. It describes the problem of changing population that many of the Churches are facing and names the areas and finally indicates the important place that Negroes hold in carrying on the work of the presbytery.

Chicagoland Honor Roll Against Discrimination. The Chicagoland Honor Roll against racial and religious discrimination at the end of 1945 published an interesting balance sheet on discrimination in their city. The list was arranged as follows: (1) The Chicagoland Honor Roll of Courageous Individual Action Against Discrimination in 1945. The list includes six pastors, Christian and Jewish, one doctor, one school principal, and one labor leader. (2) Chicagoland Honor Roll of Significant Organizational Action Against Discrimination in 1945. There were ten organizations in this group. (3) The Victories for Democracy in Chicagoland in 1945. Five successful projects were listed.

(4) Defeats for Democracy were listed. The document ended with a National Honor Roll of Courageous Individuals and a list of nine National Disgraces in Intergroup Relations in 1945.

About Books

Civilization and Group Relationships, edited by R. M. MacIver. Harpers. $2.00.

Among the flood of books and pamphlets on race and group relationships, this book stands out because it considers the problems from the viewpoint of the nation as a whole, rather than any single group, and seeks to define the effects, intellectual and spiritual, within the groups themselves. A publication of the Institute for Religious Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary, it is written by a panel of competent writers, although not all the contributions are of equal value. "There is not an ethnic group in this country that somewhere is not disparaged, somewhere does not suffer some discrimination apart altogether from the question of worth or personality, some kind of frustration or some kind of repression." This is traced to our unenlightened attitude toward difference, which keeps us from appreciating other groups because we do not think of them except in terms of some preconceived prejudiced image. The solution lies in a change of attitude. Karl N. Llewellyn analyzes the "we-group—they-group" psychology from which our biased attitudes arise. Eduard C. Lindeman deals with the group, its value for all individuals who wish to "count," and its misuse and abuse. Joseph S. Roucek gives in one chapter as clear a bird's-eye view of the minority situation in the country today as we have seen in a wide range of reading. Later chapters develop the theme with relation to education, social status, economic advantage, industry, and religion. R. M. MacIver, the editor, in the concluding chapter on "The Ordering of a Multigroup Society," outlines the task that faces social education as he sees it. "We have to get beyond the fragmentation ethics of a divided society . . . and appeal to the more universal, to the common. . . . Our age needs a charter that will thi not of the relations of individuals but the relations of groups, so that groups m be unified freely without loss, witho prejudice, within the whole. . . . teach this we need new modes of expr sion, new forms, new words, new symbol He presents as two such symbols the bu burning but not consumed and the t whose leaves were for the healing of t nations.

WILLIS CHURCH LAMO

These Are the Russians, by Richard Lauterbach. Harpers. $3.00.

This is a fast journalese swing arou the U.S.S.R. by a *Life* reporter duri 1944 and early 1945. It is like comi upon a wartime newspaper; the impa and immediacy of yesterday's events a felt again, and nothing is lost by the fa that the current cast of characters h changed almost not at all. Here are t gutted cities, phenomenal workers, gu mountains, jeeps, banquet boards, l medaled heroes, atrocities, implacab hatreds, the amazing sweep to the we hard, sure pride relieved by naïve a mirations. Kaleidoscopic is the word f it, since the colors and variegated b catch the eye more than any clear over- pattern. Does it all make for better und standing of the Russians? Yes, in t sense of marshaling an array of descripti facts. Yes and no, when it comes to int preting them convincingly. The accou is definitely dated, fairly sanguine, wh the atomic bomb and not a little UN byplay have transpired to render so judgments very open to question.

But there can be no question that Rus is a prodigious adolescent, a big boy co ing up fast. Many of his character tra are those of the wonderful raw-bon

blescent successfully discovering himself
nderful: leader principle; pride in ma-
ial prowess; muscle-flexing; destiny-
pped; lavish, almost vainglorious, hos-
ality at times; fierce loves and hates;
rific concern and sensitivity over what
ers think of him; bounding organized
ergy; limitless belief in himself; daring
mbles for all or nothing; intolerance for
itics and advisers; all for teamwork with
e home crowd yet jealously independent
om the gang across the river; quickness
condemn anyone who fails; liking fun
st and rompy; equalitarian idealism;
sy racial assimilation; mad about
echanics; love of uniforms and display;
rong for external disciplines bred of the
rracks; emotional, amiable but ready to
ok out for himself, and to do without
ligion very nicely.

Deep wounds of every kind are on
ussia's body and in his soul. He has
ed an age or a thousand, and his name
Stalin, the living symbol of Soviet power,
e smart-man-of-action messiah. When
read this verse by a Kazak admirer I
as reminded of the Magnificat:

He is the strength of the poor
He took into himself the tears of the ages,
He took into himself the joy of the ages,
He took into himself the wisdom of the
ages,
He took into himself the strength of the
ages,
He, like the morning, stands over the
world."

Sacrilege! Pagan nationalism, "man's
ner religion"—yes, tragically wrong and
ngerous, but so understandable. I do
t think you ever bully or shame people
t of such feelings; they must be won
ay from them with the terrible patience
love.

And this brings us to what is perhaps
uterbach's best section, that on Russia's
rs, fears of us and England and the
tican. Russia fears that we will go too
timental and softly democratic with
Germany, China. Russia fears our press and our monied interests and the chance of a swing to more reactionary government. And, not least, Russia fears secret alliance between ourselves and England to check the bogey of Soviet power—or is it all a bogey? Either way, you can multiply the fears by whatever tremendous ratio you assign to Hiroshima. John Foster Dulles has recently said there is no dodging the fact that Russia is not co-operating very well either in the UNO or extracurricular international efforts. Psychological isolation would seem to explain a lot of the obstreperousness. But not all!

Does Russia want war with us? No. Who does? But does Russia want peace more than security? Hardly. It is probably true, as Lauterbach says, that Stalin wants to rebuild, make science flower: "He is not going to export revolution, for he is more interested in exporting fur and importing heavy machinery." Rehabilitation, credits, are his immediate needs. And, Lauterbach maintains, he has ready markets of his own, so there is no reason for clashing with ours. The new communism, modified in the direction of capitalist incentives yet retaining the communal touchstone of planned public welfare directed by the state, sees a job cut out for it at home. The revamping of marriage and divorce laws as well as the return to limited liberty of religion augurs better for the future of U.S. and U.S.S.R. relations. With Lauterbach's statement that we can still expect frictions and must exercise restraint, and that not to keep cooperating spells eventual catastrophe, few would quarrel. But when he winds up by saying: "Co-operation—what's in it for us? —everything!" many a Christian would question whether the motivation the author implies can serve to deliver us from a collision of so human nationalisms. I'm still voting, not for enlightened self-interest, but a grace-guided world community of spiritual sons of God.—Ralph Norman Mould.

The Age of Jackson, by Arthur M. Schlesinger. Little, Brown & Company. $5.00.

Mr. Schlesinger, in his concluding chapter, "Traditions of Democracy," states that the tradition of Jefferson and Jackson might recede but could never disappear. He leaves us fully convinced on that point, and equally in agreement with him that "in a time like the middle of the twentieth century, when the pressures of insecurity have driven people to the extremes of hope and anxiety, the Jacksonian experience assumes special interest." We are likewise grateful to the author for his clear summary of the problems of liberalism and his stressing of the continual need to face their challenge unenslaved by theories of the past or of the future.

Mr. Schlesinger characterizes the period from 1829, when Andrew Jackson from Tennessee became President, until 1865, when Andrew Johnson from Tennessee moved into the executive mansion, as the Jacksonian age. It was, he states "the second American phase of that enduring struggle between the business community and the rest of society which is the guarantee of freedom in a liberal, capitalistic state." Based upon the antimonopolistic tradition of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations,* it was a social philosophy directly in opposition to the political philosophy of Hamilton that no society which did not unite the interest and credit of rich individuals with those of the state could succeed. "Tough-minded and pragmatic," the General-President accepted the challenge of the existence in society of a state of perpetual tension, and presupposed that elimination of struggle could not of itself bring liberty.

Advocacy of the "hard money policy," and establishment of state banks to facilitate the breaking down of the power of centralized financial control of the Government, are perhaps the best-known features of the thirty-six years of struggl for a balance of power between the pro ducing and nonproducing citizens of th American experiment in democracy. A the complexities of industrial life mult plied, as legislative action to regulate bus ness practices in defense of the worke became inevitable, the Federal Party turned Whig and later Republican, pru dently adopted many of the Jacksonia slogans, maintaining, however, its ow purposes.

As less selfless leaders than the "Ge eral" occupied the executive position co fusion as to which political party reall carried the banner for human rights an justice became worse confounded. Eve among the intellectuals, division arose a to their continuance of loyalty to th Democratic party. With Walt Whitma stanch friend of democracy, they felt th growing pressure of his "terrible query Is not Democracy of human rights humbu after all? Do these people with hearts o rags and souls of chalk have the grandeu of vision for self-government?"

A second volume written in the author same vein of high social purpose, to carr us onward step by step from 1865 unt the present moment, would be a most we come addition to the historical treasu books of modern literature.—G.M.M.

Marriage in War and Peace, by Grac Sloan Overton. Abingdon-Cokesbu Press. $1.75.

Mrs. Overton's long experience i counseling young people in Church, schoo college, and in other youth groups, equip her to speak with understanding. In th book she attacks one of the most difficu problems of war and postwar adjustme —that of war marriages. Particular helpful to parents, ministers, and oth consultants and advisers is Mrs. Overton analysis of motives and her wise a practical suggestions for treatmen —E.G.R.

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